

The University of Chicago

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM OF THE
HOPI INDIANS

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED
TO THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF
THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CANDIDACY
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

1933

By
FREDERICK RUSSELL EGGAN

Private Edition, Distributed by
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THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

Not only the ceremonial life of the Hopi but their daily life as well is regulated by the kinship system. Kinship is here considered as based on genealogical relationships which are socially recognized and which determine and define social relations of all kinds between persons so related.¹

In the following pages the kinship system will be examined and the social behavior of kindred outlined. This will serve as the basis for an analysis of the principles involved in the kinship structure and will give some insight into the function of the kinship system as a part of Hopi social organization.

The accompanying charts summarize the important features of the Hopi kinship system. As the result of a preliminary study, the writer began work with the definite hypothesis that the Hopi kinship system was systematic, although he made no attempt beforehand to formulate the precise nature of the system. The necessity of establishing a basic pattern or system, where one exists, is clear if the genealogical information is to be understood by the ethnographer.

Charts 1 and 2 illustrate by means of the conventional diagrams the kinship terms² used by a male ego and by a female

¹Cf. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown: The Social Organization of the Australian Tribes. "Oceania" Monographs, No. 1, 1931. P. 11.

²While the writer is using English terms for convenience in following the analysis, the terms must be understood in reference to their Hopi meaning which is determined by the reciprocal behavior involved.

CHART 1. THE HOPI KINSHIP SYSTEM

Ego = Δ Male

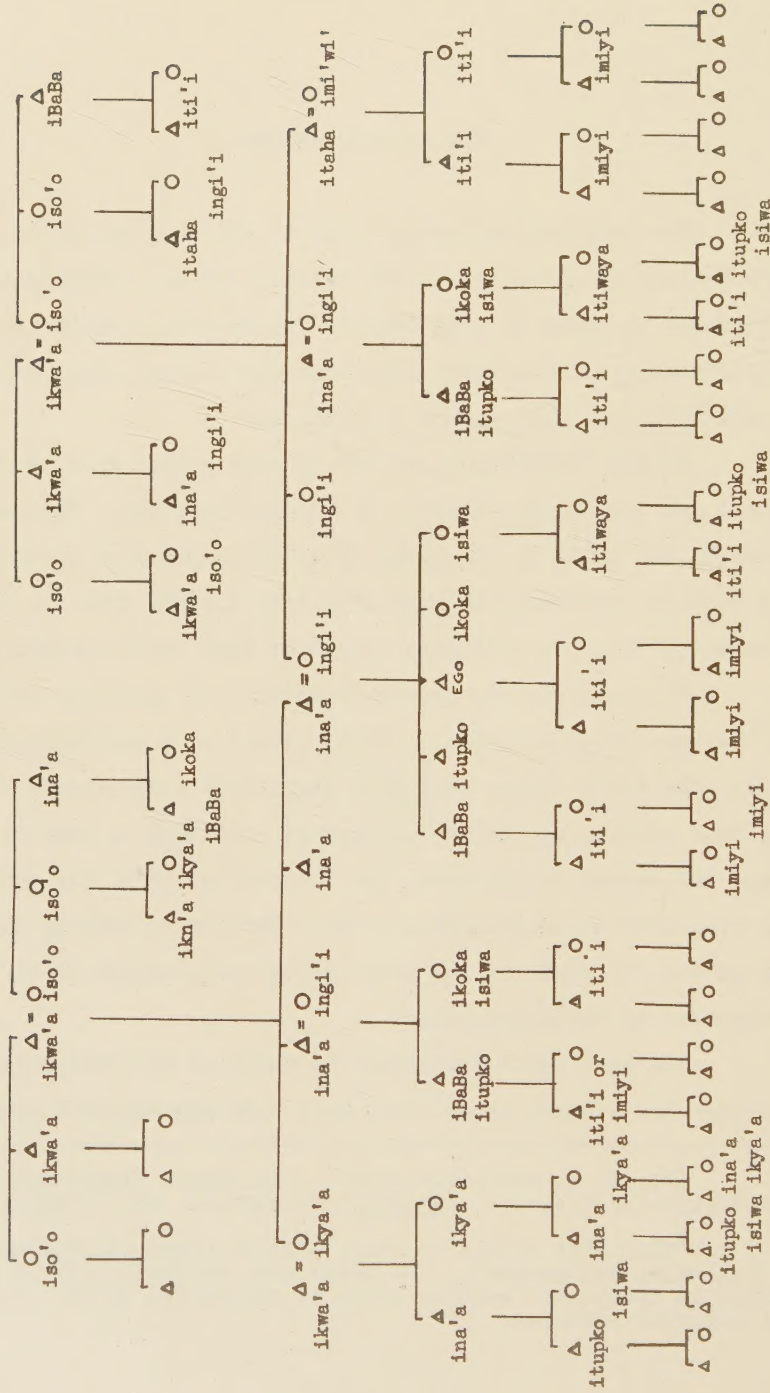
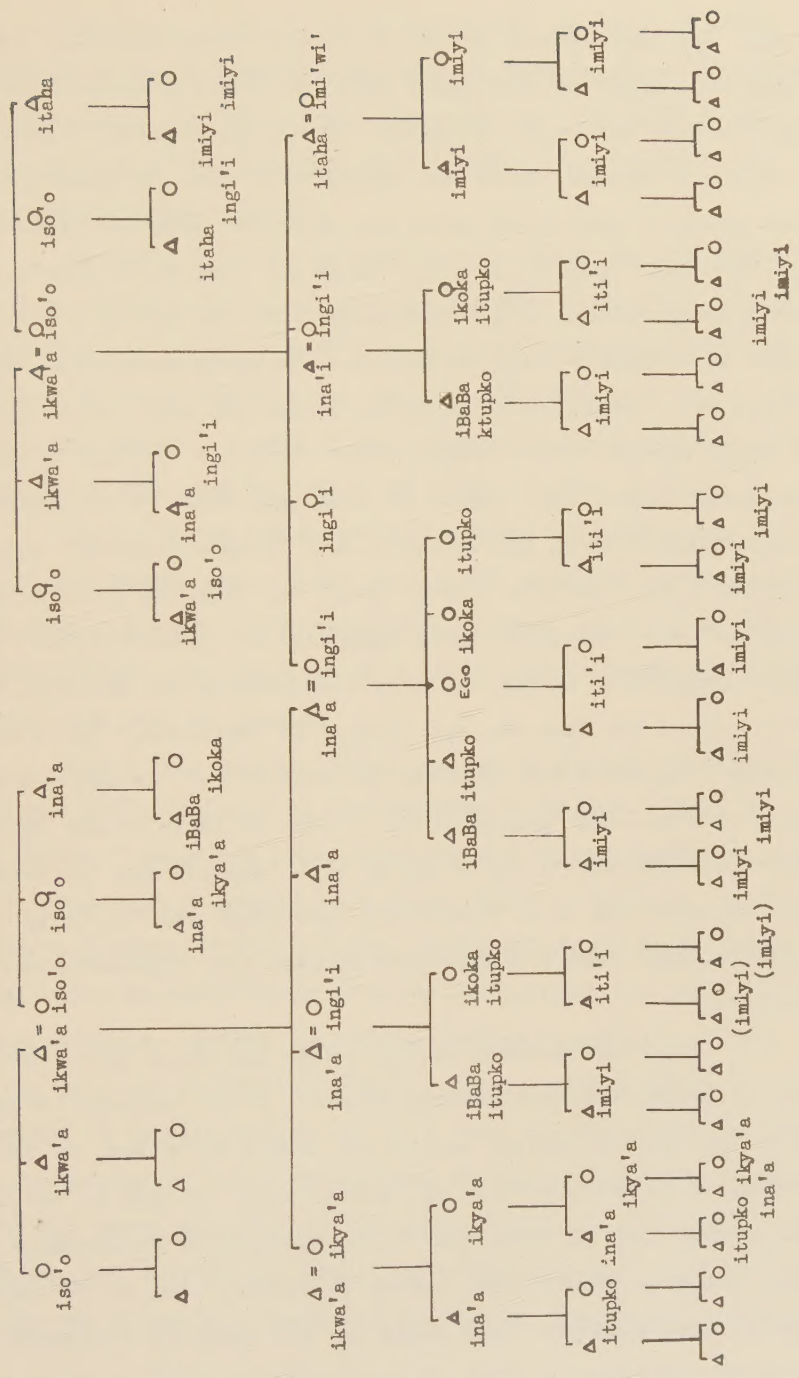


CHART 2. THE HOPI KINSHIP SYSTEM

Ego = O Female



ego. The Hopi kinship system is of the "classificatory" type, with the father being classed with the father's brother, and the mother with the mother's sister. In the grandparent's generation there are separate terms for "grandfather" and "grandmother." In the parent's generation there are separate terms for "father's sister" and "mother's brother," with the father's sister's husband being classed as a "grandfather" and the mother's brother's wife as a "female relative-in-law." In ego's generation, siblings are distinguished according to age and sex, except that a woman classes her "younger sister" with her "younger brother." Parallel cousins are treated as siblings, while cross-cousins are differentiated, the children of a "father's sister" being "father" and "father's sister" while the children of a "mother's brother" are "children" (male speaking) or "grandchildren" (female speaking). In the children's generation all children of siblings of the same sex are classed as "children," but a man's sister's children are "nephews and nieces" and a woman's brother's children are "grandchildren." The children of any "child" are "grandchildren"; the children of a "nephew" are "children," but the children of a "niece" are "brothers" and "sisters," despite the fact that a single term is used for "nephew" and for "nieces."

This conventional analysis does not throw much light on the nature of the Hopi kinship system. It is obvious, however, that the kinship system, outside of lineal relatives, is not organized on any principle of "generation." A clue to the basis of organization is contained in the grouping of descendants from the "father's sister" and "mother's brother," and in the rule of matrilineal descent. This suggests that there is a classification of relatives in terms of what might be called a "lineage"

principle.

Charts 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 illustrate the Hopi kinship system by means of lineage diagrams. A study of these diagrams indicates that the form of kinship grouping is a "vertical" one based on matrilineal descent, rather than a "horizontal" one based on bilateral descent.

In ego's father's lineage all the women are "father's sisters" or "grandmothers" and all the men are "fathers." All men marrying women of the father's lineage are "grandfathers," regardless of their actual age; all wives of "fathers" are "mothers." Any child of a man of the father's clan is a "sibling." These terms are used by both a male and a female speaker.

In ego's own (or mother's) lineage, the terms vary for a male and female ego. Since this group includes ego's closest relatives a greater differentiation is made. Also, since descent is matrilineal, the position of a female ego is conceptually different from that of a male.

For a male ego his female relatives in the mother's lineage are differentiated as "grandmother," "mother," "sister," and "niece," while his male relatives are either "mother's brother," "brother," or nephew." A man prefers to call his mother's mother's brother by the term for "older brother," hence reciprocally his sister's daughter's son is "younger brother." A woman, however, prefers to call her mother's mother's brother by the term for "mother's brother"; hence a man's sister's daughter is usually called "niece." Men marrying women of ego's own generation or below are classed as "male relatives-in-law," while all women marrying men of ego's lineage, regardless of generation, are classed as "female relatives-in-law." All children of the men of ego's lineage are classed as "children," regardless

CHART 3

HOPI: THE FATHER'S MATRILINEAL LINEAGE

Ego = Δ (Male)

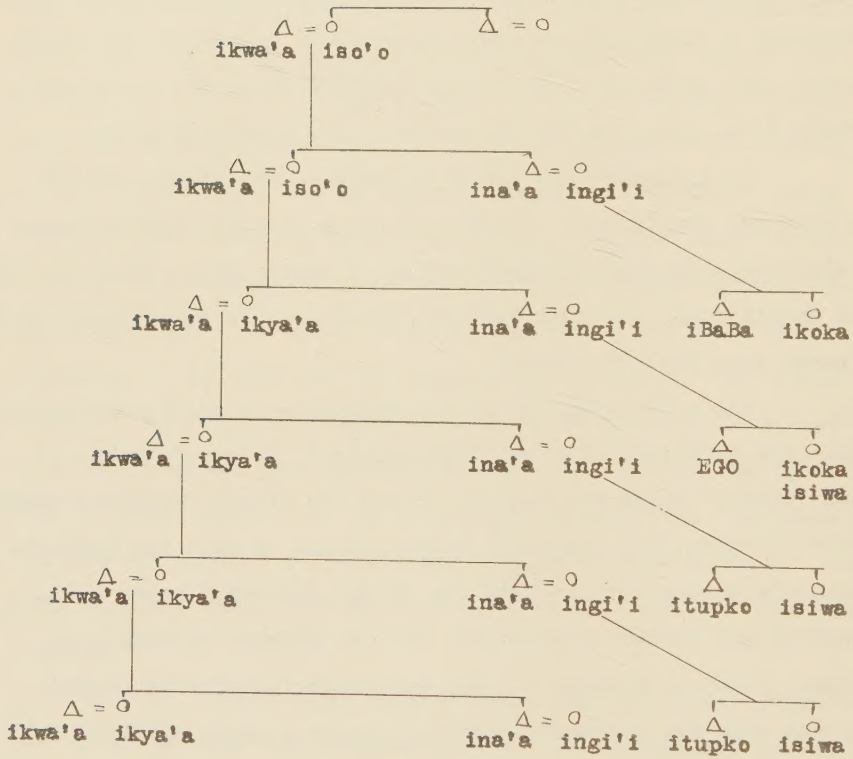


CHART 4

HOPI: THE FATHER'S MATRILINEAL LINEAGE

Ego = 0 (Female)

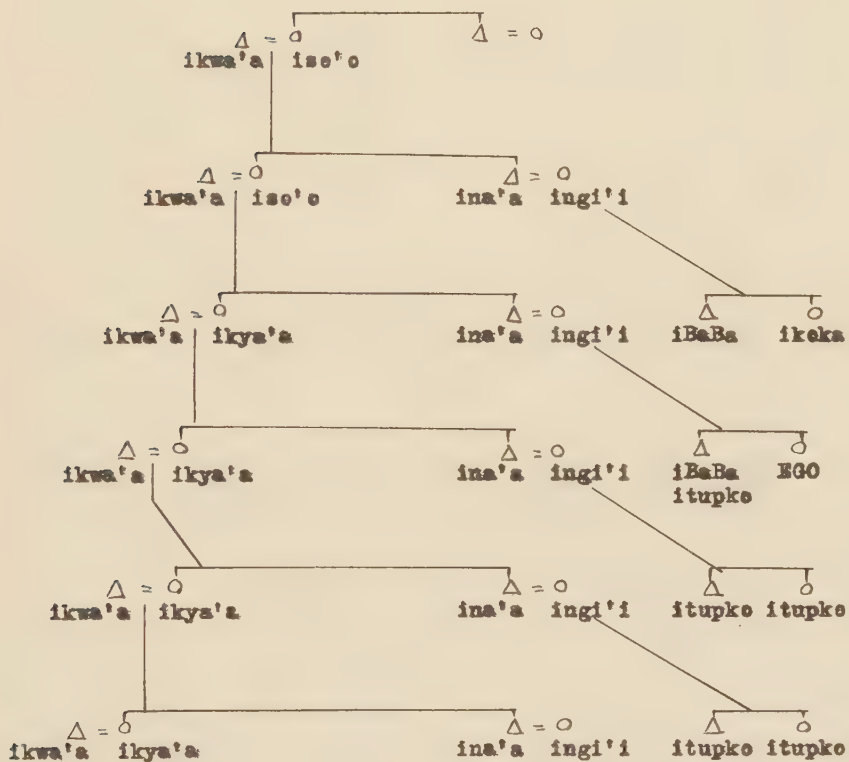


CHART 5

HOPI: THE MOTHER'S MATRILINEAL LINEAGE

Ego = Δ (Male)

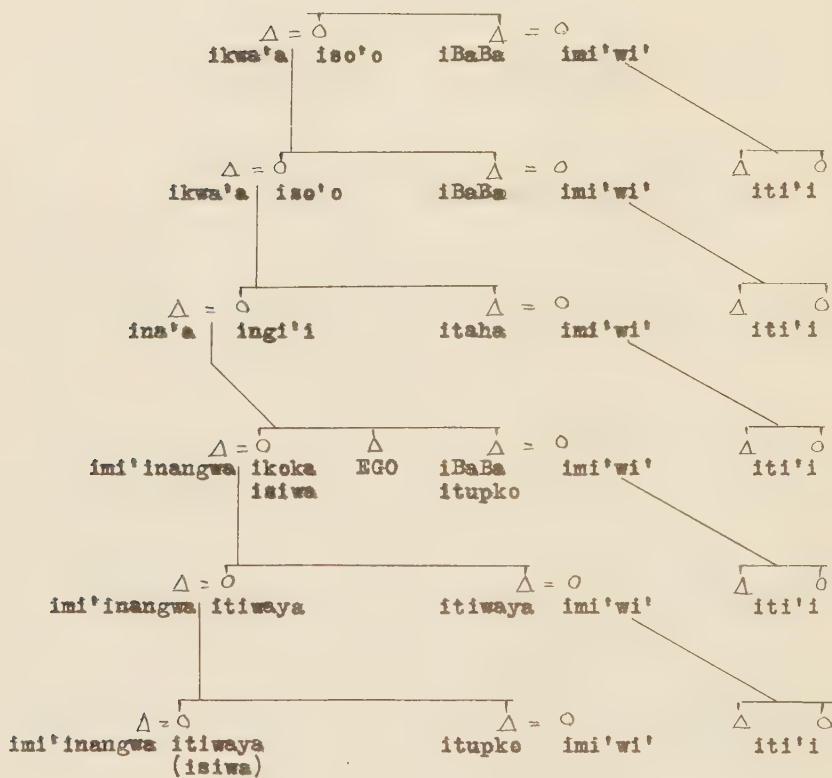
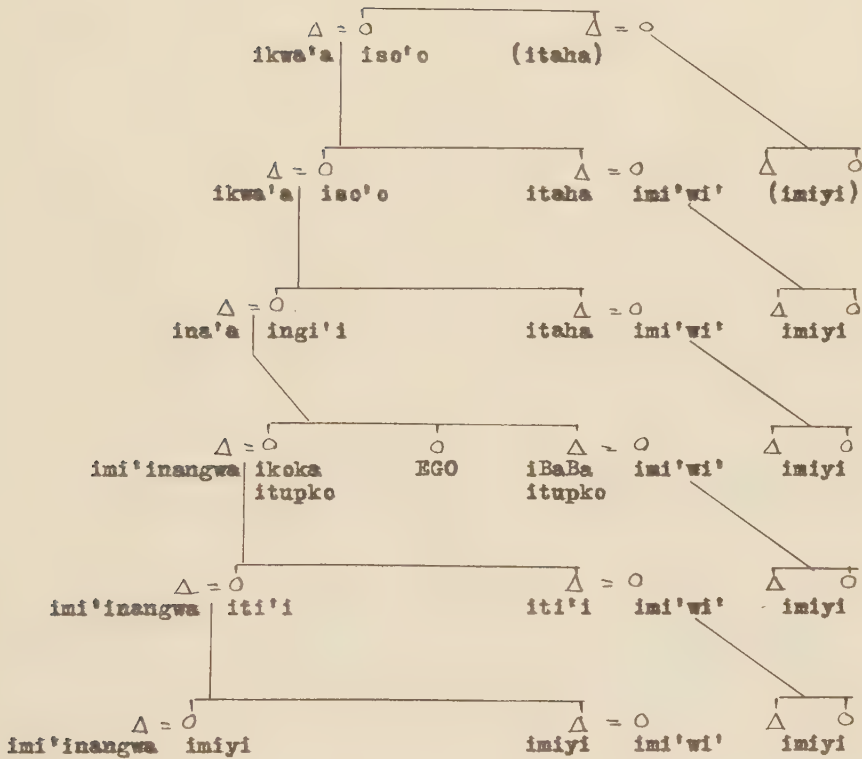


CHART 6

HOPI: THE MOTHER'S MATRILINEAL LINEAGE

Ego = O (Female)



of their age or generation. A tendency to link alternate generations in the terminology is indicated in the classing together of a man, his brothers, his mother's mother's brothers and his sister's daughter's sons as "siblings."

For a female ego, the female relatives in her lineage are "grandmother," "mother," "sister," daughter," and "granddaughter," while her male relatives are "mother's brother," "brother," "son," and "grandson." The terms used for men and women marrying into the lineage are applied as indicated, but all children of men of the lineage are "grandchildren."

All men of the mother's father's lineage are called "grandfather," regardless of age or generation, and all women of the same lineage are called "grandmother" by both a male and female ego. Men and women of the father's father's lineage or clan are not recognized by the Hopi as relatives because of the native conception of relationship. It is true that the terms for "grandparents" are applied to siblings of the father's father but no relationship is felt to the clan as such.

These lineage diagrams are the basis of the Hopi kinship system; they determine the applications of kinship terms and regulate the behavior and social relations of every Hopi, at least at Oraibi. Before the kinship system can be analyzed further it is necessary to indicate briefly the nature of the extensions of kinship, and to outline the system of social behavior.

The Extension of Kinship

The extent to which kinship is recognized is important, not only from a comparative standpoint but also from that of social integration. The basic differentiation of relatives has been

outlined in the preceding section. The Hopi, however, have numerous methods by which the range of kinship is extended. At Oraibi a man may be related, in one way or another, to almost everyone in the village, as well as to many individuals in other villages, and even in other tribes. These relationships may be based upon genealogical, social, or ceremonial connections, but the feeling of kinship and the correlated duties and obligations are similar, if not the same.

In addition to the socially recognized genealogical relatives mentioned in the preceding section, a person is considered as related to everybody in his own clan, regardless of whether the clan consists of one lineage or several.¹ A person is similarly related to all members of the associated or "linked" clans (phratry). Since the same or similar clans exist in other Hopi villages, and also among the Navaho and the other western Pueblos, further groups of relatives are established which cut across village, tribal and linguistic lines.

In like manner, a person is related to everybody in his father's clan and phratry, and this relationship may extend to other Hopi villages. Kinship is also extended to the mother's father's clan and phratry, but this relationship is not so important. Conceptually the father's clan and the mother's father's clan are regarded as similarly "placed" with reference to ego's clan (as will be shown later).

A "ceremonial father" is selected by the parents for the initiation of a boy and a "ceremonial mother"² for the initiation

¹The Hopi do not differentiate their maternal lineages from the standpoint of the clan at least.

²For initiation into the Katsina cult the brother of the "ceremonial mother" usually acts as sponsor or "ceremonial father."

of a girl. The "ceremonial father" is chosen from outside the circle of clan relatives, according to one informant, "in order to give the boy another set of relatives." The child is adopted into the "ceremonial father's" clan and is considered as related to the whole phratry group.

A child or adult who is very ill is often "given" in adoption to the doctor "who brings him back to life." This adoption brings the person into a kinship relation with the members of the "doctor father's" clan and phratry. A person may have more than one "doctor father."

Marriage results in the acquisition of an additional set of relatives. A man uses the kinship terms which his wife normally employs for the members of her household and close relatives, unless he happens to be otherwise related to them, and vice versa. This relationship is sometimes felt as extending to the clan, since the husband of a clanswoman may sometimes be chosen to carry out ritual acts pertaining to the clan. This usage is non-reciprocal; members of the wife's household call the husband "male relative-in-law," and members of the husband's household call his wife "female relative-in-law." This situation will be analyzed later in more detail.

Ordinary adoption of a child may take place when parents die or separate; usually the mother's relatives adopt and care for the child. In cases of adoption the child is treated as a member of the household and uses corresponding kinship terms. Ordinarily the new parents will be relatives so that no new groups of relatives are acquired, although individual terms may be changed.

Members of a fraternity are considered as related by kinship, although it is difficult to check information concerning

fraternities. Voth's¹ accounts of Oraibi ceremonies indicate that members are considered as "older brother" and "younger brother." Officers frequently use other kinship terms when passing a pipe to one another, however. Whether these terms represent a special set for officers, or correspond to the ranking of their respective clans,² or refer merely to their ordinary kinship relations, is not clear. Part of the initiation ceremony consists of a ritual headwashing in yucca and the giving of a new name, a procedure always involved in "adoption."

The kiva group is a more informal organization, the members of which are usually related by clan or ceremonial ties. The writer was unable to find any formal kinship relation between the members beyond the individual ties mentioned.

Within the village the chief (Kikmongwi) is considered as the "father" of the people and may be so addressed. His sister may be referred to also as "father's sister" and his wife as "mother" by the people. Important medicine men may be referred to as "father."

There is a further extension of kinship to the world of nature, particularly to the objects which serve as clan names (natoila). The more important of these may be referred to as kindred by all the Hopi. Thus the sun is always called "father," the earth and corn are called "mother," and the spider "grand-mother." The important plant and animal species which serve as

¹H. R. Voth: The Oraibi Powamu Ceremony, Field Col. Mus., Publ. Anth. Series, Vol. III, No. 2, 1901; The Oaqol Ceremony, Ibid., Vol. VI, No. 1, 1903; The Oraibi Marau Ceremony, Ibid., Vol. XI, No. 1, 1912.

²Voth proposes this explanation of the terms used between officers when smoking, but the writer was unable to demonstrate any ranking of clans according to kinship relations and inclines to the last explanation.

clan names are called either "father," "mother," or "mother's brother" by the clanspeople. While this ritual extension of kinship will be discussed in more detail in another connection, it is evidently one basis for the extension of kinship via clans, outside of the village. Extension of kinship to neighboring villages or tribes may be brought about also by ceremonial adoption. One of the writer's informants was adopted by a Navaho family, and it was illuminating to watch the many ways in which this relationship was expressed, in view of the general contempt or dislike with which the Navaho are regarded.

The numerous methods of extending kinship within the village often bring about a situation in which a Hopi has a choice of two or more terms for the same person. The writer is unable to formulate a rule for such cases, since individual choice operates. Generally the "socially" closer relation seems to be preferred, whether based on genealogical, clan, or ceremonial connections. The extensions of kinship likewise serve to mask the basic pattern, so that the native "reason" for each term used in a genealogy must be ascertained if possible.

While it is not correct to consider the Hopi kinship system as a "clan system," the importance of the clan in regard to kinship is brought out in the foregoing discussion of extensions of kinships. In most cases the unit of extension is the clan. Any man belonging to a closely related clan is a relative. As a result of this rule a series of relationships is set up in Hopi culture between an individual and various groups. These relationships are based on the relations existing between individuals. Hence it is now necessary to outline the general pattern of social behavior which prevails between relatives.

Kinship Behavior¹

The Hopi kinship system has been surveyed from the standpoint of the way in which relatives are classified and of the extent to which relationships are socially recognized. In this section the functioning of the kinship structure in terms of social behavior will be analyzed in order to see the customs by which the behavior of relatives is regulated in Hopi society.

From the standpoint of any individual, his "social personality" may be considered as determined by the total number of relationships into which he enters. These reciprocal obligations and duties between relatives are also a vital element in social integration. The basic relationships are those which hold between the members of the elementary family (parents and children), but because of conditions of descent and residence, certain relationships of a normally more distant order come to have great importance among the Hopi.

Within the elementary family there are eight possible combinations of relatives. These primary reciprocals are: father = son, mother = daughter, father = daughter, mother = son, husband = wife, brother = brother, brother = sister, and sister = sister. Within the parental "household" groups there are other important reciprocal relations: father's sister = brother's child, mother's brother = sister's child, and grandparent = grandchild. The relationship between members of the household and "relatives-in-law" will also be considered.

The general pattern of behavior prevailing between each pair will be outlined. This will be followed by a summary of

¹I am indebted to Mischa Titiev for part of this material since it was collected jointly. He has kindly placed his notes at my disposal.

the duties of relatives in connection with the important events in the life cycle of a Hopi. Such an account should throw light on the native values ascribed to the terminology. It will also indicate the relation of the individual to the family and to the household, and the nature of the correlation between kinship behavior and the kinship system.

Father - Son (ina'a - iti'i)

The relation of a father to his child is of a different order of kinship than the relation of a woman to her children. A child belongs to his mother's clan but is a "child" of his father's clan, and although the kinship feeling is bilateral, the two parental groups are rather sharply differentiated both in attitudes and functions.

The father has no special functions of any sort at the birth of a child, but when a boy is old enough to be initiated into the Katsina cult, the father aids the mother in selecting a "ceremonial father," who will look after the boy "just like his own father." A father will make bows and arrows for his son at the time of Katsina ceremonies.

The father's obligations to his son are primarily economic. He is responsible for teaching his son some occupation such as farming, herding, turquoise making, moccasin making, etc. When the boy marries, his various "fathers" give him sheep, plant corn for him, and aid in the preparation of wedding garments for his wife.

The Hopi normally make little distinction between the father and the father's brothers,¹ although behavior toward more

¹The father and his brother are considered as the "real fathers," since they have the same blood.

distant "fathers" is attenuated. Close ties are usually found between a father's brother and his brother's son, and sometimes a boy may get more help from his father's brothers than from his mother's relatives. The "ceremonial father" is supposed to act as a father would in seeing that the boy is properly initiated into the various societies, "to take hold and pull him through," after the father has brought the boy up. The choice of a "ceremonial father" from outside the clan in order to give the child another set of relatives has been previously mentioned. In cases of severe illness the "doctor father" is considered as bringing the child back to life and the parents may give him to the doctor as a "real son." A "clan father" occasionally assumes the duties of a real father. It is the actual father and mother who choose a "ceremonial father" or call in a "doctor father" to treat a sick child. The actual father may also pass judgment on his son's prospective wife, but his opinion may be disregarded.

The father and his brothers are responsible for a boy's instruction in economic activities. While they have the power to punish a lazy boy they seldom do so; punishment is largely left to the mother's family, particularly to the mother's brother. The reciprocal relation of a son to his "fathers" is an important one. A father teaches a son how to make a living and gives him a good share of his sheep and other property at marriage. In return a father is supported in his old age by his sons. While a Hopi will aid anyone who needs help, his primary obligation is to those "fathers" who have taken an interest in him and aided him on various occasions. The writer saw one of his informants sell a blanket and lend the money to a Navaho "father" who had aided him on various occasions.

A father buries his young children when they die. In

return a man is buried by his sons, or if no sons are living, by brother's sons, sister's sons, sons-in-law or grandsons. When a man dies his eldest brother assumes his authority. A greater share of the father's personal property goes to the son who buries him; the rest share alike.

Since all men of the father's clan are "fathers," it is possible to have "fathers" who are much younger than ego. In such a situation the Hopi preserve the same pattern of behavior but reverse the relationship. Thus a "son" helps his "father" while the latter is growing up and marrying, and is aided in old age by his young "father."

The position of a father to his son may be said to be that of an older comrade and teacher. He usually spoils his son by exerting too little authority. The boy, on the other hand, looks up to his father as a source of information and regards him respectfully, though not to the same degree as he does his mother's brother. The relationship between a man and his son is essentially a non-religious, or secular, one, for while a father will tell stories and legends belonging to the tribe, the religious training is in the hands of others.

Mother - Daughter (ingi'i - iti'i)

The relation between a mother and her daughter is an exceedingly close one, based on kinship ties, common occupations, and lifelong residence together. Sexual solidarity is strong among the Hopi, as is exemplified in the grouping of relatives, the division of labor, and the attitudes toward children. A man will prefer a male child and a woman a female child.

The mother is responsible for both the economic and the

ritual welfare of the daughter. She teaches her to grind corn, to cook, to take care of babies, to make baskets, plaques, and pottery, and to plaster and repair houses. She teaches her how to take care of visitors and guests, and how to behave toward strangers and toward her prospective husband.

The mother chooses a "ceremonial mother" for her daughter to look after her initiation into the Katcina cult¹ and into the women's societies. The mother makes piki for her daughter's "ceremonial mother" on such occasions. At the time of puberty a mother teaches a girl how to take care of herself. She also plays an important part in the marriage of her daughter. When a child is born to her daughter, she looks after the household and her daughter and prepares a feast, but does not take care of the infant after birth.

All the women called "mother" may exercise these functions in varying degrees, but it is usually on the mother's sisters who are especially concerned, after the actual mother. Clan "mothers" may function on occasion but ordinarily they are primarily concerned with their own children. The "ceremonial mother" is also important on occasion.

A daughter's behavior is reciprocally one of respect and obedience, as well as affection. A good daughter aspires to follow her mother's example as long as it is admirable. In one case a daughter is reported to have pined away on account of her mother's behavior. The mother may punish her child--"she has the best right to do so"--but usually her brother is called upon. If a girl is stubborn her "uncles," or an outsider, may be asked to give her advice.

¹The "ceremonial mother" chooses her brother to act as sponsor to the girl at the Katcina or Powamu initiations.

Marriage is normally matrilocal, the bride thus continuing to reside with her parents. If there should be considerable quarreling between mother and daughter it is considered advisable for the couple to move into a house of their own at present. Residence in the husband's household is not considered proper, as there is sure to be conflict between the bride and her mother-in-law. (One case was recorded, however).

If a girl has an "illegitimate" child, her mother and father attempt to discover the responsible man, who is expected to marry the girl without any intervention on the part of the "government." If the father is a married man, the child is cared for by the girl's mother or married sister. When the girl marries the husband may be glad to have the child, particularly if the marriage should be childless.

Father - Daughter (ina'a = iti'i)

The father's relations to his daughter are rather limited in scope. He is expected to aid generally in his daughter's upbringing but has few specific duties of an economic or ritual sort. The father ordinarily makes kacina dolls for his daughter. The parents have a fairly strong control over their children's choice of marriage partners; formerly this control was much stronger. The father plays a minor part in his daughter's marriage but may later help her establish a new household. Under ordinary conditions a girl inherits little or nothing from her deceased father.

The reciprocal behavior of a girl to her father is not clear. Daily observance of one family indicated a quite affectionate relationship between daughter and father. The father of a girl is considered primarily, however, as her mother's husband,

as far as kinship is concerned.

Mother = Son (ingi'i = iti'i)

The relation of a mother to her son is almost as close as to her daughter; it is based on close kinship ties, but interrupted by the sex dichotomy and matrilocal residence. A mother teaches her son not to be lazy and encourages him to learn masculine occupations and to help his father. A woman, aided by her husband, chooses a "ceremonial father" for her son, or "gives" her son in adoption to a "doctor father."

At her son's initiation into the Katcina cult a mother prepares food for the "ceremonial father" and his relatives. After the ceremony she invites him to a feast at her home. When a young man is initiated into the Wowotcim ceremony, his mother makes special cakes for his "ceremonial father."

The mother plays a very important part in her son's wedding, described below. Even though a man goes to live with his wife after marriage he always considers his mother's house as his real home. It is here that he brings friends to be fed and entertained, and it is to his mother's house that a young men will return in case of separation, or the death of his wife. A man usually keeps his tools, saddles, and so forth, at his mother's house.

On certain occasions the sister of a deceased clan head has to choose a successor from among her sons to be the new clan head. She is supposed to pick the best man for the position, regardless of whether he is the eldest. Ordinarily, however, the clan head may name and train his successor.

A man shows great respect for his mother, consulting her

on many questions, particularly those concerning the household. The oldest woman in the household is its head; she may also occupy an important position in reference to the clan if her household keeps the tiponi ("fetish").

Husband - Wife

The Hopi have several terms for husband and wife. Outsiders use inima for "wife" while the husband calls her iwuhti, "my woman." Outsiders call a husband igonya, while a woman calls her husband iBisingwa, "my sleeping partner." Ordinarily, however, the Hopi use teknonymy in address between husband and wife.

The relation between a husband and wife changes gradually from marriage to old age, so that it is difficult to characterize it. Matrilocal marriage being the rule (although there are now exceptions), a man goes to live with his wife's family. At first the bond between husband and wife is slight and easily broken, but as children are born the husband comes to identify himself more and more with his wife's household.

The economic relations of husband and wife will be discussed under "The Household." There is a marked sex dichotomy in labor and in ownership. Generally speaking, the woman does all the household work, while the man does the farming and herding, the heavy work of house building, weaves and makes moccasins, and carries out the ritual activities.

Women wash their husband's hair before and after important ceremonies, and at other times. During katoina dances the women bring food for the dancers and entertain visitors and relatives. There is a four day taboo on sexual relations after a ceremony for the dancers, and for the officers a sixteen day taboo

preceding the dance in addition.

Sexual relations are avoided during menstrual periods but there is no segregation. During pregnancy there is a taboo on sexual relations, since the latter are supposed to be detrimental to both the child and the expectant mother. Too frequent pregnancies are not desirable. There is a ban on sexual relations for forty days after the birth of the first child, and for thirty days after the birth of subsequent children, enforced by the wife's female relatives.

A woman may divorce her husband by the simple expedient of placing his personal belongings outside the door. Non-support, ill treatment, adultery, and the abusing of children are legitimate causes. A husband may also divorce his wife. Ordinarily a man makes no resistance; if he does, the wife calls on her brothers and mother's brothers for assistance. He returns to his mother's or sister's household and may remarry, although the elaborate wedding ritual is not repeated. Relatives on both sides try to patch up a separation unless the cause is too serious. The woman keeps the house and its furnishings, half of the blankets, and the children. Older children may be allowed to go with whichever parent they prefer.

The ties which hold husband and wife together are affection, to begin with, and later, children and the job of keeping the household going. Where divorce is theoretically so easy it might be expected to lead to the breakdown of the family and the whole social structure. In practice, however, divorce is not so common. The extended household serves to maintain the structure in spite of separations of individual families. In this connection it is interesting to note that at Zuni, where separation is much more common, the household organization seems even stronger

than at Oraibi.

Older Brother - Younger Brother (iBaBa = itupko)

Under ordinary circumstances the bond between brothers is very strong, being based on common blood and residence, and mutual aid in economic activities. In general an older brother should teach and help a younger brother, although it is knowledge and not age which is important. The village chief used to consult a younger brother on important matters.

An older brother may tease a younger brother, but teasing should not be carried too far. Brothers often quarrel but the quarrel is thought to blow over quickly; if they quarrel too much, one brother may be sent to live with some other relative. The solidarity of brothers is evidenced by the fact that even after marriage they may combine their efforts in caring for a flock of sheep or cultivating a strip of their clan land, in addition to their work for their wives' households.

The younger brother often gets married first because of the greater responsibilities of the older brother in helping the father. Although it is not a rule, it is considered good for two brothers to marry two sisters, either actual or clan"sisters." This increases the solidarity of the household and the clan integration, and is supposed to eliminate quarreling between the sisters-in-law. Several cases of such double marriages were noted. All brothers share equally in a deceased father's estate, except that the son who buries his father generally receives his bead necklace or other personal property in addition.

The closest bond between "brothers" is with the actual brother; then with the mother's sister's sons who are of the same

clan and blood. The father's brother's sons are "brothers" because their fathers are in the same clan, but this relation is not so close. For more distant "brothers" the feeling of relationship is usually much weaker except for cases which are modified by residence together or joint activities.

Brother = Sister iBaBa = ikoka
 itupko = isiwa

There is no avoidance between brothers and sisters, nor is there any such rule for any pair of relatives. While brothers play freely with their sisters when young, the prevailing division of labor separates them as they grow up. Even after marriage, however, a man still regards his sister's household as his own and is free to come and go as he pleases. The sister, in turn, looks to her brother for aid against an unruly husband and for help in keeping the household going. The important relation of a man to his sister's children, and of a woman to her brother's children, will be outlined below.

An older brother will have much in common with a younger brother but not very much with a younger sister. An older sister, on the other hand, engages equally in the task of taking care of her younger brothers and sisters, being taught to do so by her mother as part of her general training. In this connection it is significant that a man has separate terms for "younger brother" and "younger sister" whereas a woman has only one term.

At Katcina initiations a boy's sister helps his mother make piki; when he dances as a katcina she brings food to the dancers at noon. A sister plays an important part in the marriage

ceremonies also.

Brothers and sisters are supposed to share their patrimony; but since girls do not herd, they are given only as many sheep as their brothers think their husbands can care for.

In one or two cases a brother and a sister of one household married into another household, but there seems to be no general tendency to such exchange.

Boys are thought to be better tempered than girls, when girls quarrel they "retain their anger" for a long time. Girls may decide to die to spite their parents, but a boy would not do that because boys want to live as long as possible.

Older Sister - Younger Sister (ikoka - isiwa)

Unless there is a marked difference in age or ability there is little difference between the behavior of an older and a younger sister. Where there is such a difference, however, the older sister acts as a "mother" to the younger sister. The bond between two sisters is very strong, based on common blood, similar occupations, and lifelong residence together. Their children are brought up together, each treating the children as if they were their own, and adopting them if the sister should die.

An older sister helps her mother bake piki when her younger sister is initiated into the Katsina cult and into the women's societies, and aids at marriage. There is no rule concerning which sister should marry first. If a wife dies and the husband is a good provider, the household may desire him to marry a sister or female relative of the deceased, in order to keep him, but this seems rarely to occur. There is no rule in regard to the

sororate.

A mother sometimes wills the house to a favorite daughter, but usually the eldest, or most capable, inherits the control of the household. Any quarrels between sisters are usually settled by their brothers or mother's brothers. While quarrels occur, sisters generally manage to get along together; if not one moves out. Since descent is matrilineal children of sisters may be adopted without change of clan affiliations and likewise without change of kinship terminology. Such adoptions, for one reason or another, are quite common.

The relation of two sisters, to one another, and to their mother, is the foundation of the Hopi household. This relationship, based on the closest ties of blood, residence, and common occupation, lasts from birth to death and influences their life each day.

Grandfather - Grandchild (ikwa'a - imiyi)

The grandparent-grandchild relation is, in general, one of great affection and attachment. A father's father gives his grandson instruction in hunting and farming, tells him stories, takes him for walks or to his fields and so forth. A mother's father is even more affectionate. He may sleep with his grandson, instruct him in Hopi stories and clan myths, teach him Hopi songs, predict his future, give him gifts, save him choice bits of food, and so on.

While a boy has a large number of "grandfathers," his closest relations are to the mother's father, the father's father, and the father's sister's husband.

The "grandfather" enters into a teasing or joking relationship with his "grandson." When a boy is disposed to sleep late, a "grandfather" may pour cold water on him or roll him in the snow, or he might get the boy up early and run him around the mesa. The mother's father, because of his position as husband of the mother's mother, who is usually head of the household, does not tease his grandson. The nature of the joking relationship with the "father's sister's husband" will be outlined later. When the grandson grows up he attempts to "get even" with his "grandfather"--my informant had a sprained finger for several days as a result of wrestling with a "grandchild" who was as large as he was.

The relation of a "grandfather" to a granddaughter was obtained by observation of one family only. The grandfather treats his granddaughter very kindly, but apparently does not tease or joke with her. A grandfather seldom punishes a grandchild. In one interesting case a mother's father found his grandson picking melons and immediately called the boy's mother's brother who spanked him.

Grandmother = Grandchild (iso'o = imiyi)

In general, grandmothers treat their grandchildren kindly and look after their welfare. If a mother is too harsh with her children, a grandmother or grandfather may interfere on the child's behalf. Strict obedience is expected to the mother's mother; there is no joking relationship.¹ This is correlated with her position as head of the household. She may teach her granddaughter Hopi

¹Informants at Oraibi stated that on First Mesa a woman may tease her granddaughter but that this wasn't true at Oraibi.

songs and legends and often takes an active interest in her. She may help make piki when the girl enters the Katcina cult and when she gets married, but has little or nothing to do with her choice of a husband.

The father's mother is closer to her grandchild in that she shows more affection. She may be joked with after the fashion of the father's sister, with whom she is closely associated. Her home is a second home to her grandchild.

The grandmother is more closely associated with her granddaughter than with her grandson. According to one informant a grandmother can tease her granddaughter but not her grandson. When a couple are about to have a child, the woman's mother takes care of the household and the prospective mother. The husband's mother comes and takes charge of her new grandchild, washing and rubbing it, and preparing it for presentation to the sun and for naming.

Any very old man or woman may be called "grandfather" or "grandmother." Ordinarily these won't "tease" a child but they should be listened to since "they know the important things."

Father's Sister - Brother's Child (ikya'a = imiyi)

The position of the father's sister to her brother's child is similar, both in terminology and in behavior, to that of the father's mother. Both show great affection for ego, which they indicate in a variety of ways. The position of the father's sister is especially important in matters of ritual. With her mother, she helps take charge of her brother's child after birth, washing it daily, and naming it from her clan. If the father's

mother is too old or is dead, her daughters or other close relatives of her clan act in her place. At the time of initiations the sister of the "ceremonial father" washes ego's head and gives him a name; this is the ritual of adoption. During certain ceremonies the father's sister brings food to her brother's son. At his marriage she acts as a second "mother" to ego. He is always free to consider her household as a "second home" in which he may visit and take meals.

The father's sister stands as a sort of intermediary in a joking relationship between her husband ("grandfather") and her brother's son. The direct joking relationship in which the "grandfather" pours water on his "grandson" or rolls him in the snow has been previously mentioned. A boy may tease his father's sister about her husband, telling her that the husband is lazy and "no good" and to choose him instead. The father's sister in turn may tell her husband that he may leave her any time as her "grandchild" will take care of her--"you can go home and I'll take my imiyi for my husband." When a boy grows up he may get "even" with his father's sister's husband directly by wrestling or playing tricks on him. The Hopi say the father's sister loves her brother's sons very much and takes their side against her own husband. There is really no actual antagonism between the father's sister's husband and ego; often they help each other with their work.

At the time of a boy's marriage the father's sisters play an exceedingly interesting role. Besides helping in the preparation of the feasts the father's sisters have a definite ritual. At the time of the hairwashing they "fight" a little with the boy's mother: "Why have this girl over here? She is no good; she can't cook. Why not us? We're good cooks, etc." According

to the informant, they don't mean it--"it's a means of showing that they care more for the boy than the others." In former times there used to be a more vivid expression of this ritual antagonism. After the groom started living with his wife's household his father's sisters and his mother would go to the bride's house and throw mud and call her "no good" and lazy.

The relation of a father's sister to a girl is not so close, despite the sameness of sex. This is partly because there are fewer ritual relations between the two. The functions of a father's sister in regard to a girl's marriage will be discussed in detail below. There is no "teasing" relation between the two. The father's sister may make a plaque for her brother's daughter at the time of the Niman katcina dance.

The reciprocal relation of a child to the father's sister has been partially referred to in the above account. A boy, when grown up, may give presents to his father's sister, and to her daughters ("father's sisters"). A boy is not supposed to tease an unmarried "father's sister." When a girl is rather old¹ and not yet initiated into the Katcina cult, her mother's brother's son ("grandson") is supposed to make a katcina doll to be given to her from the katcinas. A girl who receives aid from her young and unmarried "father's sisters" at the time of her marriage will reciprocate when the latter get married.

The father's sister's household is a possible home for her brother's children if their mother does and has no female relatives to take care of them. The father's sister has authority to punish her brother's children but seldom does so as she loves them very much.

¹Around 12 or 13 years old. This may be brought about by going away to boarding school.

While a man may have several "father's sisters," the closest are the actual sisters of the father who live in, or were brought up in, his "household." If for some reason these are not available, more distant "father's sisters" may be called upon to carry out the duties incumbent upon their position.

The position of a father's sister, in terminology and behavior, is essentially that of a "grandmother." She calls her brother's child, "grandchild" (imi'yi), and her husband is in turn called "grandfather." Likewise her mother's sister, if young, may be called "father's sister" (ikya'a) by her brother's child instead of "grandmother."

The closeness of the behavior relation and the warm affection between the father's sister and ego are comparable to that of the grandmother and her grandchild. It is evident that the father's sister has been "taken out" of her generation, terminologically speaking, and "placed" a generation higher.

Mother's Brother = Sister's Child (itaha = itiwaya)

In the Hopi matrilineal system the mother's brother is a very important relative. Even though he is married into another household he is in some respects, the head of his sister's household. As such he has considerable authority over his sister's children. The actual punishment of children is largely in the hands of the mother's brother; he must still be obeyed even after the children are grown. A mother's brother has his "nephews" and "nieces" best interests at heart, however, and scolds them or punishes them primarily to teach them. It is the duty of the mother's brother to act as a teacher to his nephew, particularly

in regard to clan legends and stories. He also gives presents and playthings to his nephew.

A mother's brother has no special duties at initiations into the Katcina or other societies, but on the occasion of a nephew's wedding, he passes judgment on the bride, takes charge of the weaving of the wedding blankets, and instructs his nephew in the proper behavior toward his new relatives.

The mother's brother may sometimes tease his sister's children by pouring water on them if they stay in bed too late, or get them up early for a run around the mesa. A boy never "jokes" with his mother's brother, but must respect him and follow his advice.

The relation of a girl to her mother's brother is less restrained. Normally she has less contact with him since she is generally trained and punished primarily by her mother. A mother's brother gives her advice at the time of the wedding, and may be called in to settle domestic arguments in the household, or to eject an undesirable husband. A girl may "joke" with her mother's brother concerning his "father's sisters" (her mother's father's sisters). "They don't like you," she will tell him, intimating she is stronger in affection. This conflict between women in alternate generations for the regard of the mother's brother is partially parallel to the conflict between a man and his classificatory "grandfather" (father's sister's husband) for the affection of the father's sister.

Ceremonial offices descend from a man to his sister's son, or to his younger brother. Hence the mother's brother is responsible for the training of the nephew in the requirements of the various offices. The management of kivas likewise descends in the same way, thus staying within the controlling clan. Sometimes

a favorite nephew is called upon to bury his mother's brother, in which case he inherits a share of his uncle's personal property, usually his turquoise necklace.

The mother's mother's brother is likewise an important relative. While alive he is the ritual head of the household in which his sister's daughter's children are brought up. A woman calls her mother's mother's brother itaha, "mother's brother," but a man prefers to call him iBaBa, "older brother."

The mother's mother's brother is considered to know more than the mother's brother. He, too, acts as a teacher and should be obeyed and respected by a boy. However, he seldom punishes a boy, his authority being based on respect and knowledge.¹ In the case of one informant his relations to his mother's mother's brothers were very close, since he was asked to bury one of them, and will inherit ceremonial position from the one still alive.

The relation of a girl to her mother's mother's brother was not differentiated from that to the mother's brother, both of them being considered as occupying similar positions in the household.

The relation between the older brother, the mother's brother, and the mother's mother's brother, from the standpoint of a male ego, is an important one. All are in the same clan as ego and all have certain obligations in common. The position of the mother's brother is a specific teaching and disciplinary one, quite different in character from that of the father's sister, or even of the father. While the mother's mother's brother partakes of the "teaching function he is not involved in problems of discipline for the most part. The Hopi have "taken" him out of the

¹"Our 'great uncles' told us that" is sufficient precedent for Hopi customs in many cases.

grandparent generation and placed him in ego's generation, into which he fits without conflict, as far as behavior is concerned. He might have been called "grandfather," but this would not fit in so well with the kinship system and the patterns of behavior. In addition this grouping serves to link alternate generations in the terminology, a tendency which finds more complete expression at Laguna and Hano.

Male Relative-in-law = Household (imi'inangwa = "wife's terms")

"Male relatives-in-law" form an essential element in the Hopi household. A man is called imi'inangwa by his wife's relatives, particularly those of her household. In turn, he calls them, not by a "relative-in-law" term, but by the same terms that his wife uses unless he happens to be independently related to them.

The duties of a man to his wife's household are outlined by his "uncles" at the time of marriage. He should seek to provide for their every need by cultivating land owned by the household, by hunting game, and by gathering wood. He should also protect them as he would his own relatives. The food he gathers belongs to the women of the household and is used to sustain it.

The position of a man in the relation of imi'inangwa to a household is further defined by the fact that he is sometimes called Pikonghoya, "little war-god." Pikonghoya is one of the twin war-gods who protected and looked after the Hopi in the mythical period. Two men married to "sisters" in the same household call one another imi'inansingwa, which the Hopi translate as "partners"; they are partners in the task of supporting the house-

hold.

While the household has not been formally discussed in its various aspects, it is clear that there is a correlation between the character of the terminology for "male relatives-in-law" and their position in the household. The application of the term shifts according to the position of ego; the latter calls his sister's husband and his sister's daughter's husband, imi'inangwa, but calls his mother's husband, "father." Likewise the term imi'inangwa, is extended to the men marrying into ego's clan, but not to men marrying into the father's clan.

"Female Relatives-in-law" = Household (imi'wi' = "husband's terms")

The position of an imi'wi' is quite different from that of an imi'inangwa. Any woman who has married a man of the household (or clan) is called imi'wi' by the people born in that household (or clan). In return she calls them by the terms her husband uses, unless she should be related in some other way. The position of the imi'wi' is largely a ceremonial one. They have specific functions at marriage in regard to providing food for feasting. They must likewise feed ego when he visits their households. In return a person is "good" to his or her imi'wi'.

Each imi'wi' lives in a different household normally. They come together and function as a group only in connection with the marriage of a household or clan relative of their husband's.

The preceding account of the behavior of reciprocal pairs of relatives, while not complete, is believed to be essentially correct. The material was gathered jointly by the writer and

Mischa Titiev, partly from different sources, and the notes written up independently. In addition the general pattern was checked by observing actual cases wherever possible.

